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THE JAPANESE RACE QUESTION IN HAWAII¹

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RACE QUESTIONS IN HAWAII

Hawaii has always had race questions; she will continue to have them. On a subject about which so much has been written it may be superfluous to try to say more. But in reference to the Japanese and their relations to the Territory, present conditions and future possibilities raise certain questions for which answers must soon be found. It is enough possibly in this paper to call attention to the questions. In fact, in most cases it is not possible to say what is the wisest course of procedure. That can be decided only after a complete study of the facts—many of which are not only now unavailable, but are really only in the making.

Most men who have given the subject consideration feel that it is one of great potentiality. Its significance in the future life of Hawaii is great almost beyond words to express. In it are involved our prosperity, our social well-being and our political status.

RACE ANTAGONISMS IN HISTORY

History is full of the antagonism of races. The advance of the ideal of the brotherhood of man has helped to reduce these race jealousies, but some still remain whose causes lie no deeper and, when clearly understood, will be as easily removed as those which are now thought of only because they are recorded in history.

Two or three centuries ago all the nations looked upon one another with suspicion and repulsion, even when they were closely allied in blood and culture. Then the Scotchman was an

¹ Read at a Meeting of the Social Science Association, March 1, 1915.

abhorred foreigner in England, and was lucky if he was not pummeled in the streets. The Flemings and the French Huguenots who went to England, although identical in religion with the English and although in what to our eyes seems precisely the same stage of civilization, were so bitterly disliked that again and again mob violence on an extended scale resulted from their presence, and the Government was alternately obliged to take strong measures to protect them and to take other measures to discriminate against them in response to the feeling of the English people. In the case of the French Huguenots in England this occurred as late as two centuries ago. At that time Russian immigration to England was far more bitterly resented than is Japanese immigration to the United States at present, while Jews were permitted to live in England only surreptitiously and in violation of law. (*Outlook*, vol. 186, p. 152.)

SPIRIT OF THIS PAPER

I approach this question of the Japanese in Hawaii in a spirit not unfriendly to the Japanese. I have long been an admirer of their many admirable qualities. But he who is a friend of the Japanese and a well-wisher of Hawaii may reasonably try to find out where the stress is going to come in future years and what may be done to strengthen the parts that have to bear the strain.

HAWAII'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOLUTION

Much has been written about our being a "melting pot." Our own people and visiting investigators have told in paper, magazine and book how we have solved the problem of the races. No one can deny that we have made great contributions to the demonstration of how diverse races can live together without friction, in fair friendliness and to mutual advantage. But the last and perhaps most important chapter of that story has not yet been told. In fact, to many observers the plot seems to be thickening. New conditions and circumstances which did not appear in the earlier pages are coming forward to make the events which lie ahead very important in deciding what kind of a conclusion is going to be written. In fact, the most important phases of the Japanese question in Hawaii lie ahead.

REASONS FOR SUCCESS IN HAWAII

We may well pause for a moment to study the reasons why Hawaii has been able to assimilate so many races without internal disarrangement or disturbance. In making a comparison on a basis of numbers, absolute and relative, the California Japanese question sinks into insignificance. When San Francisco several years ago was having trouble swallowing ninety-three Japanese school children, Hawaii was taking into her diminutive school body thousands of Japanese and having no difficulty with the digestive process. The State of California is now keeping the state departments of both the United States and Japan busy, supplying Hobson with ammunition and the yellow journals with scare-head material all over 41,628 Japanese, out of a population of 2,377,549, owning 10,791 acres and leasing 20,294 more acres of land in an area for California alone of 158,360 square miles. Meanwhile peace-seeking persons and periodicals are holding Hawaii up as an example of how 15,000 whites can swallow, digest and assimilate 80,000 Japanese.

(a) A Christian Spirit

One of the reasons that has enabled Hawaii to perform this feat is her training in the missionary spirit. Her early missionaries came here to bring Christianity to the native Hawaiians. The hand of brotherhood was extended to all races wherever found and from whatever source. Their sons who became the early business men of the Islands inherited their spirit and brought in general to business the missionary's attitude towards the men whom they employed. That doctrine of good will impregnated the air. It was sounded in the pulpit by the fathers and practiced in the fields by the sons. The example of the leading men of the country went far towards making it the law and the practice of the land. From the beginning, then, the causes which have made for jealousy, suspicion and friction were largely removed. Thus the equality of the races, fair dealing among men, a simple sense of the justice that ought to go out to the other man were firmly established.

In considering any new questions which may arise between the Japanese and the whites, it is well to remember that the farther we get away from the missionary background and the more the missionary spirit in the community is adulterated, the more danger there is of friction at points of contact. Many newcomers will be able easily and quickly to get the community point of view, but there is imminent danger of the arrival of a few with the California point of view who may readily become a source of disturbance that will seriously upset our pleasant relations with our Nippon neighbors. Parasites and germs and other bugs inimical to our best interests we have found, to our cost, easily travel from port to port. It will be no easier to protect ourselves from the anti-Japanese agitator.

It is idle to deny that the Japanese question, even here in Hawaii, hangs on a delicate balance. The leading white men have the best of feeling towards the Japanese and intend to do everything possible to maintain reciprocally cordial relations; the leading Japanese have the best of feeling towards the Americans, many plan to make their homes here, and they intend that nothing shall be done by their countrymen to try too much the good will of their adopted country. Probably, too, on the whole the Japanese are in better control than the Americans, from among whom at any time some hot-head may arise shouting the usual anti-Japanese propaganda and raising in this community a condition which may be most difficult to meet.

The possibilities of trouble do not lie either altogether in the hands of the Americans. Some of you know better than I how sensitive are the Japanese community, how easily injured, and how in every public and semi-public matter in which they may feel slighted the most careful consideration must be given to their rights and place. It is possible that the community's willingness to give this consideration is one of the reasons why it is said to us that we have solved the race question. But a race question which rests on so delicate a balance can not really be said to be settled.

(b) Lack of Religious Antagonisms

The lack of any religious antagonisms has negatively at least removed one cause of difference. The frank recognition of the religions of the Japanese and the assistance and encouragement even given to the erection of their temples, schools and homes and to the support of their religious organizations have laid a foundation of good will.

(c) The Schools

The schools maintained by the Japanese, especially by the Buddhists, have raised suspicions that the Japanese children were being prepared, not for American citizenship, but for the return to Japan. A circular, recently issued by the Hongwanji Mission, which now has thirty-two Japanese schools, frankly states that in the establishment of these schools "the aim of the educational work was at that time nothing more or less than to prepare the children as Japanese subjects in the best possible way, as the public school in their native country does."

The circular goes on to say that the Japanese have learned that "permanent settlement in the new world is the only way of solving their life's problem," and that most "have quite forgotten their purpose of returning to their native country and are living their Hawaiian life in the American atmosphere of liberty and equality, quite satisfied and contented." They further state that they are going to give up their old system of educational work and change their schools into Educational Homes in which the mother tongue and morals only will be taught, the work of the public schools supported and supplemented, and the training given to Japanese children which the Japanese homes are generally unable to give.

That the statement "that the old system of educational work must be given up" is something more than mere words for effect is demonstrated by a recent convention of teachers from these Japanese schools. This convention was called to determine policies for Americanizing the system of in-

struction and to devise means for securing suitable textbooks.

Recognizing as it does the growing tendency of the Japanese not to send their children back to Japan, but to keep them in Hawaii on account of the social, industrial and educational advantages here obtainable, this change of attitude and policy on the part of the Japanese schools may be full of significance for the future.

(d) *Intermingling of Children*

Another potent reason why the presence of large numbers of Japanese has raised no race question in Hawaii is in the fact that their children have intermingled in school and play with the other children of the country. Fortunately, in this educational contact, as in the spiritual contact, the conditions were favorable. The schools were prepared to receive them and to do much towards fitting them to become children of the country. This history of all countries where different races meet shows that the mingling of the children is one of the surest ways of overcoming distinctions of caste and race feeling.

(e) *The Economic Reason*

He would be a sentimentalist indeed who attributed our success in our relations with the Japanese to spiritual and educational causes alone. Fine sentiment aside, the chief factor in this success has been the facts that the Japanese were brought here to serve an economic purpose and that the success of their labor has meant prosperity for Hawaii. They came as laborers; for long they worked as laborers; Hawaii profited by their labors.

Ray Stannard Baker in one of his articles puts this rather baldly.

As good a bit of economic philosophy as I heard while in the Hawaiian Islands came from the lips of a curious character who keeps a little stopping place in the Island of Maui. When he took our bags at the wharf, my companion asked him how the town was prospering.

"Oh," said he, "we're all right so long as the Japs keep on working."

Stripped bare of all confusing non-essentials, our curious hotel-keeper had set forth the fundamental condition in Hawaii. So long as the Japanese, the Chinese, the Portuguese, the Porto Ricans, the Filipinos, the Koreans, and all the other babel of foreign peoples keep on working quietly, we're all right. The only noteworthy "Oriental peril" in Hawaii is the fear that the Orientals will not continue to work with docility on the land of the white man. (Ray Stannard Baker, in *American Magazine*.)

The Commissioner of Labor in the 1903 report speaks of this side of the question with an emphasis which most will not grant.

Up to the present time the Asiatic has only an economic value in the social equation. So far as the institutions, laws, customs, and language of the permanent population go, his presence is no more felt than is that of the cattle upon the mountain ranges. He lives apart, his society forms an *imperium in imperio* that is not assimilated and does not even coalesce with the social organism of the dominant race. (Bulletin of Department of Labor, July, 1903, p. 714.)

But the Japanese who came as a laborer did not always remain on the plantation. He saved his money and bought a business; he learned a trade and came to town to set up shop; he preferred cooking to hoeing; for one reason or another he joined the procession to the town. The Hawaiians have been gradually displaced in the fisheries; the boasted Hawaiian boatman is frequently a Japanese. The Japanese have come to grow our flowers and many of our vegetables. They drive our automobiles. Their stores are increasing in number and in importance and are infringing on the sacred Fort Street precincts. Japanese corporations are growing pineapples. The town is filled with Japanese mechanics of all sorts, and Japanese contractors abound.

The time was, and the date is not in the distant past, when the encroachments of the Japanese upon the laboring fields of the citizen would have been the cause of vigorous protests. Only a short time ago this question was a vital one. White contractors and white mechanics united in decrying the employment of Japanese by leading white men. But now you hear little about this question, possibly for

the reason that the white mechanic who hasn't been taken care of has given up the struggle, has gone to the Coast and in consequence is here no longer to protest.

The newspapers occasionally take a fling at the Federal Government for employing Japanese, but their chief point seems to be the inconsistency of expecting us to Americanize the Islands but of not using American citizens as laborers on Government projects.

What is true in Honolulu is equally true in other parts of the island. If you wish to see an Oriental village in the very heart of Hawaii, I suggest that you visit Wahiawa, making the trip by train. I confess that its Oriental population and appearance gave me a shock. And this in the middle of the American homestead section!

QUESTION 1. INCREASE IN OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY BY JAPANESE

It may be that the present silence on this matter is the silence of satisfaction. It may be that we have become so accustomed to the advance of the Japanese into all lines of work and business that we do not notice it. But I wish to raise my first question in regard to one feature of this advance. That is the question of the increase in the ownership of property by Japanese.

Figures taken from the books of the tax assessor for the district of Honolulu show a wonderful, not to say portentous, growth in the amount of real and personal property owned by Japanese.

Japanese Taxpayers in District of Honolulu

YEAR	REAL PROPERTY		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	Number Taxpayers	Assessed Values	Number Taxpayers	Assessed Values
1904	9	\$39,050	345	\$642,291
1910	25	53,430	687	800,025
1912	40	105,855	819	1,005,011
1913	102	280,550	972	1,403,663
1914	154	463,804	1,232	1,476,769

1914 Taxpayers by Nationalities in District of Honolulu

	REAL PROPERTY		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	Number Taxpayers	Assessed Values	Number Taxpayers	Assessed Values
Corporations.....	161	\$12,612,695	337	\$20,143,025
Anglo-Saxons.....	1,906	15,197,990	1,384	1,450,275
Hawaiians.....	1,595	7,473,989	722	376,538
Chinese.....	467	1,572,615	1,269	1,804,895
Portuguese and Spanish.....	1,027	2,258,600	767	153,400
Japanese.....	154	463,804	1,232	1,476,769
	5,310	\$39,579,693	5,711	\$25,404,902

There is certainly no problem of serious proportions in the number of Japanese who own real property or in the amount that they own. One hundred fifty-four owners of real estate out of 5310, and less than \$465,000 assessed value out of \$40,000,000, do not apparently justify any fears. In fact, the wonder may be why the numbers are so small. Does it bear out the statement that the Japanese have no permanent interest in the Islands and that they are here only in transit while they are acquiring a competence? Or has the failure to buy land been a reflection of the doubt in the mind of the Japanese of the reality of his welcome and the possibility of his having sooner or later to leave?

If there is any "race question" here, of what then does it consist? In the first place the rate of increase, especially in the ownership of real property, may well receive attention. In ten years the number of owners has increased from 9 to 154, or 1611 per cent; the assessed values from \$39,050 to \$463,804, or 1087 per cent.

In the same period the owners of personal property—not including poll taxes—increased in number from 345 to 1232, or 257 per cent, and the assessed values from \$642,291 to \$1,476,769, or 129 per cent.

Of course, this is the time of their material prosperity during which a relatively large increase in their investments ought to appear.

The question is, Will the future see the number of owners double every two years, and, if so, what is its meaning for Hawaii?

In the second, the locality of his land purchases in Honolulu may be worthy of consideration. No study has been made of this question. But he *seems* to be buying much land in the sections which have previously been held and inhabited by the white man. Beretania Street, King Street, lower Nuuanu, upper Manoa to some extent, and other parts of the town are beginning to take on a Japanese complexion.

Real estate dealers tell me that if Japanese wish a piece of land the price is no object. It is easy for them, too, to carry on their negotiations for a piece of property through a third person. Many men are having the experience of having to buy the land next to their homes to prevent its going into the hands of Japanese. The very fact that men think it necessary to do that is an indication of the difficulties with which this question is fraught. Men can't go on indefinitely with this expensive process of choosing their neighbors.

These constitute a race question whose significance we are just beginning to realize, and one the satisfactory solution for which may well be the concern of those both American and Japanese who believe that no efforts are too great in assuring the continuance of the friendly relations of the two races.

The Negro as an Illustration

The Negro question is the great race question which the United States has to face and solve. On the economic side and even on the social side, at first thought, the Japanese race question and the Negro race question may not seem to have any similarity. But further consideration shows at least one important similarity. The negro came to the South as a laborer against his will; the Japanese came to Hawaii as a laborer of his own accord, to be sure, but under conditions which made him welcome only because he served

the economic need of his employer. The rise of the negro from slavery, a condition in which he enjoyed the protection and held the sympathy of his master, to a gradually increasing economic independence and stability in which he is becoming a competitor of the white man of the South, is producing in the places where this tendency is most marked a new antagonism to the negro. Without ever forgetting the traditional causes of opposition to the negro—race, color, character, and the whole list with which the tale of this struggle is full—historical and social students and the friends of the negro's cause are beginning to look with apprehension upon this new source of friction. The situation caused by the fact that the negro is showing ambition, a willingness to work and to save, and a desire to accumulate property, presents unexpected difficulties, because the negro has not been generally accused of being ambitious, industrious or thrifty.

This rising feeling of animosity against the negro is receiving expression in the magazines and even in the histories. The brief quotations given below are sufficient to show the reality of this feeling. The first is from Hart's *The American Nation, a History*, volume 26, on "National Ideals Historically Traced," and the others from such magazines as the *North American Review*, *Atlantic Monthly* and others.

That does not prevent a race animosity which is contrary to all the American ideals of a republican community, and is a severe test of the principle of equality of opportunity, of "the door of hope." Here comes in one of those contradictions which can be found all along the history of this question: on one side the negro is held to be weak, inconstant, and incapable of organization; on the other side are heard fierce predictions that he will soon come to compete with the white man, in which case he must be massacred. If the negro is worthless, he exasperates the whites; if he is capable, he alarms them. The situation shocks the American sense of fair play.

Outlook, May 23, 1914: Theoretically we advocate a nation of homeowners. Professor Long advocates for negroes "renting land to him for a term of years." He opposes ownership—ownership is a step to social equality; social equality to amalgamation; amalgamation to race depreciation.

Atlantic Monthly, vol. iii, p. 766: As soon as it appears that the black man is able to live and work alongside the white man in

competition, race prejudice will be so intensified that the negro will be driven out of the country or compelled to perform a kind of work that no white man is willing to do.

Political Science Quarterly, vol. 26, p. 202: The differences between the races here in Oglethorpe are growing more intense and troublesome. A few years ago in Oglethorpe the negro was the laborer and white men were bosses generally and workers incidentally. That has all changed now, and the two races are coming into close competition as renters and day laborers.

Quoted from a letter: It is commonly believed in the South that negroes are most prosperous where they are few in number as compared with whites. The census supports this view as regards ownership of land.

Independent, March 23, 1914: Opposition is flagrant just now, and there are negro leaders who tell us things are blacker than they have been since the Civil War.

Survey, February 1, 1913: The curious observer sees these black hands nursing our babies, cooking our food, bearing our burdens, tilling our soil, carrying our muskets, mingling in all the multiplex pursuits of our nation. But he also sees a respectable neighborhood thrown into a panic of lawless dread if a wealthy negro either buys or rents a home to live in there.

The points of similarity between the case of the negro at the South, as shown in these quotations, and the Japanese in Hawaii, as suggested in the section of this paper on their economic growth, are sufficient to be of more than passing interest.

QUESTION 2. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLACE IN THE COMMUNITY OF JAPANESE EDUCATED IN HAWAII

Another question that will soon face us is what is to become of the young Japanese who are now in the schools of the Territory?

In 1904 there were 3,313 Japanese boys and girls attending the public and private schools in the Territory; in 1914 there were 12,917. Of these only 198 are over fifteen years of age. We are accustomed to read annually of the number of Japanese children in the schools. Do we consider what they are going to do when they leave school, and how much what they do is going to affect us?

Most of these drop out of school before they reach the upper grades. They come from hard-working families and

are themselves willing to work. They probably would not return to the plantations as day laborers, but would they not go on some other basis? Could not some liberal contract-sharing plan be made to fit their case which would at once help to supply our labor lack and take them out of competition with our citizens? I have no knowledge of the possibilities of such a plan; I am impressed with the need of directing this Japanese current into channels which will reduce to a minimum the race friction due to economic causes. The upper grades and high schools are beginning to show large numbers of Japanese students. A study of the employment of students who have attended Hawaii's schools is inconclusive. The facts are not sufficiently broadly established on which to draw decisive conclusions, but the trend is not towards agricultural and mechanical pursuits. They are going on to higher education or into clerkships.

Some new questions may arise in the social relations of the educated Japanese with the white people. Certainly it is not going to be possible to shove them to one side as can be done with a coolie. The son of a coolie educated in our schools can not be treated like "cattle on the mountain ranges." The proper adjustment of this relationship will come as a gradual process worked out by the rising generation who have grown up together in the schools. Its eventful working out may be attended with difficulties and may demand the broadest spirit of tolerance.

QUESTION 3. THE JAPANESE AS CITIZENS AND VOTERS

And now what about the coming Japanese voter? Is the Hawaiian-born Japanese going to claim his American citizenship rights and become a voter under the Stars and Stripes?

The table showing by years the number of registered Japanese voters in the Hawaiian electorate throws some light on this matter.

YEARS	TOTAL VOTERS	JAPANESE VOTERS
1902	12,612	3
1904	13,253	2
1906	13,578	(no figures)
1908	13,274	6
1910	14,442	13
1912	15,185	48
1914	(No figures	available)

While the figures for 1914 are not yet completed, they will show a material increase, for on Oahu they increased from 7 in 1912 to 30 in 1914. At this rate the total number for 1914 will approximate 170. Even this number does not represent a large proportion of those who are eligible to register and vote.

From 1887 to 1894, both years inclusive, 600 male Japanese and 638 female Japanese, or a total of 1238, were born in Hawaii. These are now over twenty years of age. Deducting the number who have died or who have left the Territory, figures for which are unobtainable, it is probable that there remain in Hawaii more than 400 Japanese who have the right to register and vote.

From 1895 to 1914, both years inclusive, 22,247 male Japanese and 20,352 females, or a total of 42,599, were born in Hawaii. In the last ten years, in other words, 42,599 Japanese have been born, while in the preceding eight years 1238 were born. It takes no mathematician to see the political possibilities in these figures. I say possibilities, for I believe that no one knows what the actualities are going to be. In his 1912 annual report Governor Frear estimates that if none die or leave the Territory there will be 2676 possible Japanese voters in 1923, and 27,298 of other nationalities than Japanese and Chinese. Whether or not this is a low estimate, the number will begin soon after that date rapidly to increase, for after the arrival of Japanese women in large numbers in 1902 and 1903, the number of births greatly increased. In 1925, then, all of these who have not died or left the Territory will begin to come into

their majority and be eligible to register and vote. The uncertainty as to how many are going to become voters seems to be reflected in the minds of the Japanese themselves; they do not seem to know just what they are going to do.

The tide as yet has not run strongly towards registration, though this year's figures are suggestive of a beginning. It is possible that the feeling of uncertainty as to their American status, previously referred to, may be holding them back.

Whichever way the answer is given there comes a difficulty. If the native born Japanese do not become voters, we shall have a large body of men eligible to vote who do not exercise the franchise. This in itself is a condition which may well be regarded with concern, but when the fact is taken into consideration that this group consists of a race against whom it is freely charged that they can not and do not wish to become Americans, but wish to retain their allegiance to Japan, then the question takes on serious proportions. On the other hand, if these young Japanese do register and vote, their number is great enough—and always growing larger—to affect seriously the result of our elections. In time—a far distant time—they will hold the balance of power.

We may well "view with alarm" a mass Japanese vote. A mass Hawaiian vote has had its terrors, but, assuming again that all eligible Japanese are going to vote, the casting of a solid Japanese vote is almost unthinkable. When we remember their race solidarity, the response especially of the lower-class Japanese to the call of the agitator and the profit that may come to demagogues who may seek to play upon their race interests and prejudices, it is at once apparent that this question presents phases that demand the best consideration of our best men.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick suggests a Bureau of Alien Registration and Education, the principles of which may find some application in this problem. It is based on the theory that all foreign-born persons seeking naturalization should be educated for citizenship.

In this case the objects of our care are American born and educated in our American schools. Without underestimating at all the effect upon them of these influences, there is still need of a definite preparation for this new relation to the state.

Quite as important are a manifestation of interest in them on the part of the white men of Hawaii, a development of lines of approach which take into account their point of view and seek to make that point of view truly American, and a use of the same kind of educative processes as have developed the Hawaiian voter and made it possible for the Territory thoroughly to reflect American ideals though numerically the ballot is in the control of a non-white race.

Those who know the Japanese best assert that the response from these young Japanese will be surprisingly complete and enthusiastic.

QUESTION 4 THE NATURALIZATION OF THE JAPANESE

Are the Japanese to become naturalized?

The application of Takao Ozawa for naturalization, now pending before the United States District Court, opens up a race question which, in the words of Kiyoshi K. Kawakami, a distinguished Japanese scholar, is "more vital and of greater significance than most other questions that affect them." "Indeed," he goes on to say, "it is the *sine qua non* of the Japanese question today."

The plan proposed by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick for the solution of the Japanese immigration question is fraught with such large possibilities for Hawaii that it demands consideration here.

Briefly stated the principles of the plan are as follows:

1. American citizenship should be granted to every qualified individual regardless of race.
2. Immigration from any land should be allowed on a percentage rate of those from the same land who are already naturalized, including their American-born children.

The passage of a law embodying these principles would at once settle the contention of the Japanese, recently

expressed in the case of Takao Ozawa, that the people of that race are entitled to naturalization. Such a law would make it possible for Japanese who deem themselves qualified to apply for naturalization and to seek to become naturalized citizens and voters in the Territory of Hawaii.

Whether or not they would become naturalized citizens is a matter of opinion only. The contention of the friends of the Japanese is that they would avail themselves of the privilege as soon as it was extended to the Japanese on the same basis as to any other race. The anti-Japanese aver that they would not accept citizenship; they maintain this of American-born Japanese; they maintain it vehemently and vigorously of immigrants.

Assuming that a large proportion will seek naturalization, it may be presumed that the educational qualifications of such a law would be sufficiently rigorous to exclude most of the common laborers. Even under our present law it has been found possible to ask questions that embarrassed some of our well-educated foreign-born residents.

This paper is not arguing the justice of granting to Japanese the right of naturalization under our present law or the wisdom of passing the proposed Gulick amendment. It is studying simply the possible effects on Hawaii if complete citizenship for the Japanese is secured by either means. The number of Japanese who could qualify for citizenship under the present law or a similar law reasonably enforced can only be estimated. No statistics can be had in Hawaii of the number of the Japanese, classified by employments or education; the estimated number, then, becomes hardly more than a guess based on the opinions of leading Japanese. The number will be confined to the best classes who can meet the educational and moral requirements of the law which debar the ignorant and the undesirable; the number will then necessarily be small.

The estimates given by such Japanese as ought to be in a position to know range from 300 to 1000 with a preponderance of opinion in favor of the smaller figure. Out of a population of nearly 90,000 this seems small. A similar study made of the Japanese in the United States put the

eligible number at 6 per cent of the whole, or 3110, including 410 professional men, 1000 merchants, 1700 farmers. Comparing this statement with our estimate it seems as though 1000 Japanese able to meet the law's tests for naturalization in Hawaii is a very conservative estimate. This number of citizens would be added to the group of American-born Japanese and would require much more of the educational process to put them in condition for intelligent participation in the duties of American citizens and for assimilation into the body politic.

Whatever the attitude of Japan towards the United States, whatever the real feeling of the Japanese in Hawaii towards American residence and citizenship, whatever the actual political and military exigencies, the penalty of the failure of Hawaii satisfactorily to meet the situation created for her by the right of Japanese to exercise the franchise in whatever way this right is obtained will be a commission form of government imposed upon us and controlled by the United States Government.

The immigration clause of the proposed Gulick plan would allow the coming to America—not necessarily to Hawaii unless the law was made specifically so to read, which is doubtful—of a certain percentage—5 per cent suggested—of the naturalized citizens and of the American-born children. In Hawaii this would be nearly 2000 based on the estimates of possible naturalization and on the number of Japanese born in Hawaii. If any way could be found to bring that number of immigrants to Hawaii, use could doubtless be found for them on the plantations.

For the discussion of the other features of the Gulick plan, consisting of bureaus of alien registration and education and of naturalization, Federal responsibility for alien legislation, a national commission on biological and sociological assimilation, a method to insure the reliability of international news, a department of national benevolence, and the education of all children in Oriental history, important as many of these are in any complete or satisfactory working out of the race problem here or in the States, there is not time.

CONCLUSION

These race questions have arisen from natural causes for which the Japanese themselves for the most part are not responsible and for which they certainly can't be blamed. The Japanese have been brought here to serve Hawaii's need. The new conditions which their growth in numbers, their accumulation of wealth, and their coming into the rights of citizenship have raised are a part of the obligation which we assumed in bringing them here. Under these circumstances the Japanese may reasonably expect that Hawaii who boasts of her lack of race prejudice will by wise and just treatment do all that she can to find the satisfactory answer to these race questions.

And now what are the agencies which Hawaii may well count on in developing a sane attitude towards these questions, and sound policies in meeting them?

The educational system which must prepare its pupils to fit into our economic and social system and to get a grip on truth and a desire to use it for the benefit of mankind.

The church which, inspired by the spirit of Christ and by the teachings of modern social science, shall broaden its service in the field of human relations and needs.

The press, which is called upon to proclaim harmonizing public policies and to lead public opinion in the support of such doctrines of personal and race good-will, as our advancing civilization demands.

The leaders of thought in every walk of life, who must themselves approach these questions broadmindedly, and inspire others with their own faith in the triumph of the doctrine of justice and humanity.